

## **Ideological Stance and Phonetic Variation: the mediatized performance of a sportsman identity**

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It is a fundamental tenet of sociolinguistics that contextual factors influence intraspeaker phonetic variation. Sociolinguists have shown, for instance, that formality (Labov 1966), audience (Bell 1984, 2001), setting (Kiesling 1998; Podesva 2007, 2011), orientation to social categories (Eckert 2000; Mendoza-Denton 2008), and rhetorical goals (Blom and Gumperz 1972; Gumperz 1982), among many other things, can all impact a speaker's production. This paper, however, examines a lesser studied interaction--the effect of ideological stance on intraspeaker variation--through an exploration of one speaker's variation in /æ/, or TRAP, one of the most regionally distinct vowels in North American English (Labov, Ash, & Boberg, 2006). The speaker is a middle-aged male from rural western Michigan. He is the host of the TV show *Meat Eater*, which educates viewers about hunting and cooking wild game. As part of his commodified "sportsman" persona, he uses a number of linguistic and semiotic resources to perform an authentic white, rural, working-class identity: dressing in camouflage while not hunting, producing an alveolar ING, making reference to his rural upbringing, and drawing on aspects of Southern English although he is not a speaker of SAE. He also, however, occasionally takes ideological stances diverging from the prototypical sportsman style. Most saliently, he publicly supports political action on environmental issues such as climate change. This paper aims to investigate the effect of ideological stance on intraspeaker variation, specifically whether the speaker uses TRAP variants similar to Southern English TRAP at higher rates in contexts in which he takes stances ideologically disaligned with the "sportsman" identity. To investigate this question, the paper looks at the speaker's production of TRAP in two videos produced for the Theodore Roosevelt Conservation Partnership. One video teaches hunters about wildlife conservation and urges them to donate to the TRCP. This is ideologically-aligned with the sportsman identity, as evidenced by wildlife conservation's accepted importance among sportsmen and the positive comments posted on the video. The other video discusses climate change, asking hunters to write elected officials in support of mitigation policies. This video is ideologically-disaligned, as shown by its divergence from the political goals of prominent sportsmen-oriented organizations and the negativity of posted comments. Tokens of TRAP from both videos were measured for F1 and F2 across the duration of the vowel and coded for ideological stance, time, phonetic context, and lexeme. A linear mixed-effects model was used to assess the effects of these variables on the realization of TRAP. Preliminary results suggest that the speaker's production of TRAP varies with the ideological stances he takes. While taking ideologically-disaligned stances the speaker produces a fronter TRAP than in ideologically-aligned contexts. Since TRAP-fronting is part of the Southern Vowel Shift (Labov 1994), these findings show that regional and class-based dialects are used as social resources even by non-local speakers and illustrate that ideological stances can be a factor in intraspeaker variation. This work thus broadens sociolinguistic understandings of factors important to intraspeaker variation and suggests that researchers should take into account speakers' ideological positionings when analyzing phonetic variation.

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